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175 their external relations, but without much interference at that time with the anachronistic orientalism of their governments in the administration of justice within the limits of each State. 000 Indeed it has been held that, while the Russians under the Tsars posed as protectors of the Muhammadan law, the Sheriat, there is reason for attributing to them a real policy of maintaining the conditions of the Middle Ages in a city such as Bukhara, a hotbed of clerical reaction. The object of such a policy would be to encourage societies of this kind to rot internally and finally to break up of themselves under a new impact, like a mummy exposed to the air. It is not without interest to observe that a visit to Bukhara just before World War II led Fitzroy Maclean[1] to ascribe the same continuing motive to the Soviets in that city.

175 • 166 The distinction noted between the steppe and the oases was carried through into Russian policy. The Kazak nomads of the vast northern *dala*, already disorganized by the Kalmuck invasions and lacking the stability afforded by a settled cultivation with its attendant towns and forts, fell easy prey to the invaders. Many of them were forced south, and their places were taken by Russian and Ukrainian colonists, the settlement of whom became the fixed policy of Petersburg and proceeded steadily up to 1914. Towards the close of the XIXth century a scientific investigation was made of the availability of Kazak land for purposes of European colonization, ostensibly not without regard to the then existing population of Kazaks (these were wrongly known to the Russians of that time as Kirghiz). This subject formed the terms of reference of two weighty commissions of enquiry under two investigators named Shcherbina and Kuznetzev. These commissioners produced monumental reports in the best Germanic manner, complete with maps and extending to many volumes. But, says the commentator, though these claim to be highly scientific, they are thoroughly tendentious, and from beginning to end are written from the executioner's point of view. The authors set out to prove that the Kazaks are not the original

[1] Bib. I, 65, p. 149.

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owners of the land, and their needs for a minimum subsistence are reckoned with a view to getting rid of them. On this basis 14 million hectares on the steppe were confiscated by decree, and two million Russian immigrants brought in. A more humane, and less scientific, Russian named Zwilling in 1911 compared these methods to that of the Jew who tried to accustom his ass to lower standards of nourishment by giving it a lower and lower ration, and eventually nothing at all. When the ass got used to eating nothing, it died.[1]

The real policy comes out in the outburst of Kriukov,[2] President of the Agricultural Administration in 1907, in which he accused the Kazaks of being the descendants of Chingiz and Timur and therefore deserving only of destruction. When in 1916 the Kirghiz rose against the Tsar's conscription order, and their old leader, Kanat son of Ayuke, was captured on the Chu River and brought to trial, he accused his Russian judges of leaving him and his people no place to lay their heads, and later in despair committed suicide by dashing himself against the prison wall.

When in the period 1865–86 Transoxiana and the Turkmen steppe in their turn fell to the Russians, the government at first compromised with tradition by leaving Bukhara (with its mountainous extension to the east) and Khiva as 'native states' under their princes. The rest of the oasis country was brought under direct administration but there was not at that time a serious attempt to do much here in the way of Russian colonization. Indeed, as is usual in the oases of Asia, the already existing sedentary population was thick on the ground, and was engaged in an intensive system of agriculture little above subsistence level. But, just as Tsarist pressure on the steppe had taken the form of infiltration, so in the southern and submontane regions it was exercised by means of a turnover from grain to cotton cultivation, particularly in the rich Farghana Vale with its suitable climate and the natural irrigation brought from the rivers issuing from the surrounding mountains. Already emerging into leadership under the Min

[1] Togan, *op. cit.* pp. 301-3. [2] *Ibid.*